CHAPTER III

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPT OF AN

IDEAL-MAN

IN SIKHISM UP TO THE NINTH GURU
Sikhism is a monistic and proselytising religion. Its history begins with Guru Nanak (1469 - 1539) and continues for about two hundred and forty years through a line of nine successors.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, when the first wave of Muslim immigration into India had worn itself out leaving the country in political disruption, social disorder and moral decadence, there arose in Punjab a prophet-reformer in Guru Nanak who called upon the people to work towards re-establishing an ideal world of Truth, Purity, Love, Justice and Fearlessness.\(^1\)

Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh faith, was born on the threshold of a momentous period in India\(^2\) and Europe. In the course of his life-time, he witnessed the dominance and decline of the Lodi Sultanate and its final extinction by Babar in 1526 A.D. Babar writes in his memoirs that ever since he came to Kabul, it had been his intention to march on Hindustan (India) but a variety of reasons had hitherto prevented him from carrying out his plan.\(^3\) However, in 1519 A.D. came Babar's first attack on Bhira, the border town of Hindustan. In his third expedition, in 1520, he went as far as Gujranwala; his objective seemed to have been Lahore.\(^4\) In his fifth expedition, in 1525-1526, he finally got the sovereignty of Hindustan and declared himself emperor of India.

According to Puratan Janam Sakhi and a number of Sikh historians, Guru Nanak was living with Bhai Lalo near Sayyidpur when Babar committed a bloody massacre there.\(^5\) Babar says in his memoirs, 'the inhabitants of Saiyyadpur, who resisted, were put to the sword, their wives and children were carried into captivity, and all their property plundered.'\(^6\)

According to Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, 'what would Guru Nanak not have done, had he been in the position of Guru Gobind Singh? He could then only utter a cry and wish that the cows should become lions, but what would he not have done, if he had a nation at his back? Alas he had no nation

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\(^2\) W. M. Mcleod, Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion, p.3
\(^3\) Beveridge, Memoirs of Babur (Translation) II, p.377
\(^4\) I. B. Bannerji, Evolution of the Khalsa, I. p.36
\(^5\) Puratan Janam Sakhi, 35
\(^6\) Leyden and Erskine, Memoirs of Babur (Translation), II p.149
at his back. He and his successors had yet to create it. Still he did not sit down in impotent rage and utter idle jeremiads. He did as much as was possible to do in the circumstances. *7

In Europe it was an age of renaissance, adventure and religious reformation. In England, in 1510, Colet established St. Paul's Grammar School; in 1516 Erasmus started the Corpus Christi College at Oxford. In 1492 Christopher Columbus discovered America and called it India. In May 1498 Vasco de Gama, a Portuguese navigator, found the sea-route to India. In 1519 Ferdinand Magellan, another Portuguese navigator, sailed to make the first voyage round the world. In 1517, in Germany, Martin Luther began the reformation movement in Christianity. In 1534 the Society of Jesus came into existence. Soon a wave of inquiry and exploration into the religious environment swept over Europe and other parts of the world.

To comprehend the mission of Guru Nanak, in the context of his theory of an ideal man, the basic tenets of his philosophy must first be understood.

Firstly, the essence of his doctrine was belief in the One True God, and the shaping of every man's conduct in such a way as to realise that God. *8 The Guru said,

(i) "There is none except Him, the One Lord, to go to (for refuge and sustenance)" *9

(ii) "The One God pervades everywhere and He alone dwells in every soul." *10

(iii) "There is but one God. His name is Eternal Truth." *11

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*8. J. N. Sarkar, The History of Aurangzeb, III p.344
*10. Ibid., Asa p.433
*11. Ibid., Mul Mantar, p.1
Secondly, Guru Nanak believed in religion as realisation: anubhav:

Those who adopt this view reject ritualistic practices and orthodox definitions. Guru Nanak preached against the hollowness of conventional beliefs and mechanical rites and urged his followers to go back to the very spring-head of a personal and living faith.*14

The Guru said,

(i) "He who grasps the truth, realizes that there is but one religion of all mankind, as God is one and has ever been the same." *15

(ii) "Religion consists not in mere talk. He who looks on all alike and considers all as equals, is acclaimed as truly religious." *16

(iii) "Religion consists not in abiding at the tombs or crematoriums, nor in going into pseudo trance. It neither consists in roaming in the world, nor in bathing at the places of pilgrimage. The way to true religion is found by dwelling in God and remaining detached in the midst of worldly attachments." *17

Thirdly, the Guru believed that the whole creation functioned under God's direct command. Describing the theory of creation, the Guru said,

(i) "There was darkness for countless years,
There was neither earth nor sky. It was His Will,
There was neither day nor night, neither Sun nor Moon,
He was in abstract meditation." *18

(ii) "When it was His Will, He created the world,
The wide Universe was suspended without any mechanism." *19

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*12. Guru Nanak, His Life, Time & Teachings, Edited by Gurmukh Nihal Singh, p 1
*14. J. N. Sarkar, op. cit., p.345
*15. Guru Granth Sahib, Basant, p.1188
*16. Ibid., Suhil, p.730
*17. Ibid., p. 730
*18. Ibid., Maru
*19. Ibid.
See - S. S. Kohli, 'The theory of Creation as propounded in the Adi Granth', The Missionary, January-March pp. 70-82
Fourthly, Guru Nanak believed that man could attain salvation here in this world by performing good actions, by living truthful life and by meditating on God with love and devotion. The Guru said,

(i) "Salvation comes by living the Truth" \(^{20}\)

(ii) "Good actions procure better type of life, Salvation comes through His Grace." \(^{21}\)

(iii) "There can be no salvation without dwelling upon the Name of God." \(^{22}\)

Fifthly, Guru Nanak believed in the necessity and importance of the guidance of a true teacher who could escort human beings towards the path of God. The communication between man and God occurred through the counselling of the Guru. Guru Nanak said,

(i) "The Guru is the ladder, the boat, the raft by means of which one attains God." \(^{23}\)

(ii) "Without the Guru, the love of God does not spring (in our heart) and the dirt of ego is not washed away." \(^{24}\)

In Sikhism the qualities of an ideal man have been enumerated by all the ten Gurus. The first nine Gurus have most frequently used the word "Gurmukh" for an ideal man, whereas the tenth Guru has used the word "Khalsa." Other words used to describe an ideal man in Guru Granth Sahib are, Brahm-giani, Jiwan-Mukt, Sadh, Sant, Sachiar, Sewak and Soorbir etc.

All the Gurus, in their hymns and teachings, have critically examined the different aspects of the concept of an ideal man. Though basically, they all have given the same attributes of an ideal man, e.g. love of God, selfless service to God and humanity, humility, noble action, compassion,

\(^{20}\) Guru Granth Sahib, Majh, p 141
\(^{21}\) Ibid., Jap Ji, p.2
\(^{22}\) Ibid., Dhanarsi, p.663
\(^{23}\) Ibid., Siri, p.17
\(^{24}\) Ibid., p.60
practice of righteousness, justice and control of the five vices and so forth, each one has laid special emphasis on certain aspects more than the rest.

Guru Nanak has put maximum emphasis on universal brotherhood and love of God and humanity as the core qualities of an ideal man. He said,

(i) "Let Universal Brotherhood be the highest aspiration of your religious order."*25

(ii) "Man without love is an empty shell which crumbles down and is reduced to dust."*26

(iii) "The pride of caste and the glory of status are futile, for each of us shelters under One and the same God."*27

(iv) "They who love God love everybody."*28

(v) "Call everyone high, none seems to be low; for God, the only Potter, has fashioned all alike, and His light alone pervades all creation."*29

The ideal man of Guru Nanak is multi-dimensional. Firstly, he is a house-holder who totally rejects the division of Varnas (castes) and ashrams (stages of life) enjoined by Hindu Shastras.*30 Guru Nanak recommends to an ideal man, the following five stages of noble life:-

a) Dharam Khand (The Plane of Righteousness):

The world is a place for the practice of holy living. In this world there are numerous creatures of different shapes, colours, sizes and characters. They all are called by different names and they all will be judged by their actions in the Court of God. This world is the abode of righteousness and a pilgrim's place for moral and spiritual effort, where everyone must endeavour to develop spirituality and humanity.*32

The Guru said,

"He made Nights, Days, Seasons,
He made Air, Water, Fire, the Nether Regions;
Amidst these He established the earth, the residence of Diversified living Creatures
With numerous names

*27. Ibid., Siri, p.62
*28. Ibid., Wadahans, p.83
*29. Ibid., Siri, p.557
All of these are judged by their deeds
In His Court of Justice, as He is the Judge
Amongst elected Jury
And His presence
Bad and Good deeds will be sorted out
0 Nanak this is what will happen."*33

b) Gyan Khand (Plane of Divine Knowledge):

Ignorance of righteousness and truth degrades life. Wisdom attained through inner illumination alone can set a man on the right path of salvation.
The Guru said:

"There is law in every realm of Justice. There is reason in every realm of knowledge."*34

Guru Nanak believed that when the inner consciousness of an ideal man is illuminated with knowledge, he can see many more worlds beyond this world, many more creatures beyond the creatures of this world; and then he cries out - 'God is great and great is His Glory.' He is the only Designer and has designed so many things that it is impossible for a human pen to describe them all. Thus the ideal man attains the real wisdom, and rising above religions and other organisations starts propagating the bits of truth amongst his fellow men.

c) Saram Khand (Plane of Spiritual Effort):

The march towards the sphere of Truth is a continuous spiritual activity which leads to happiness, bliss, beauty and joy. The highly spiritual discipline recasts and reshapes the character of an ideal man and he develops the wisdom of angels and prophets.
The Guru said,

"In the realm of Spiritual Effort, beauty is triumphant
And results in incomparable state of mind
It is hard to comment on these
If one does, one repents

*33. Satbir Singh, Jap Te Ohde Pakh, pp. 57-62
There is the realm of inner perception, understanding mind and knowledge
Where live sages, seers and perfect beings.*35

Guru Nanak believed that the man who was honest and loyal would be saved
from all sorts of corruption and his inner consciousness would shine with
beauty and glory, and such a man would be anointed as an ideal man. *36

d) Karam Khand (Plane of Grace)

In this sphere, man is impregnated with love, devotion and blessing
of God, to seek His Grace. He obliterates his will in the Will of God;
and starts living in the everlasting union with God.

Thus when a man doing good deeds, meditating on the Holy Name, helping
and assisting his fellow-brothers marches towards a spiritual destination,
God showers His Grace on him and he becomes blended in Him. He in
this realm, develops the power to control his mind and actions and becomes
invincible, brave and a great saint and soldier. *37

The Guru said,

"In the realm of Grace, spiritual power *38 is supreme,
Nothing else prevails;
Where in the mind lives His name
There live holy men;
They rejoice in His Company."*39

Guru Nanak believed that the description of His creation by an ordinary
man is too difficult. The universe is so vast and diversified, that no
vocabulary can provide sufficient alphabet to convey it. It has spheres
after spheres and galaxies. The creation is a complex phenomenon. To
understand this complex universe, a man has to reach the plane of Grace,
entering which he rises above the level of an ordinary creature and becomes an
ideal man.*40

*35. K. S. Bedi, op. cit., p 66
*36. Ibid. *37. Ibid.
*38. The word 'Jor' in this shauri has been interpreted in many different ways. Gopal Singh in his English translation of the Guru Granth Sahib, vol. I. p.11 has translated it as 'Power', Messrs. Trilochan Singh, Jodh Singh, Kapur Singh, Harkishen Singh and Khushwant Singh have also translated it as 'Power' (see The Sacred Writings of the Sikhs, p.50) Teja Singh, however, has translated it as 'Effort' (see Guru Granth Sahib, Gopal Singh, p.11 f.n. 3)
*39. Guru Granth Sahib, Jap Ji. p.8
*40. K. S. Bedi, op. cit., pp. 66-67
e) Sach Khand (Plane of Truth):

This is the final realm which a man is to enter to become an ideal man.*41 In this stage the light of Truth smashes all chimera and myth. Perfection is achieved in unison with God.

The Guru said that this life of a human being is one of the greatest gifts of God to mankind. One must not waste it in extreme luxuries, acts of immorality, corruption, hypocrisy, delusiveness, falsehood and illusion. Rather one must rise above all these misconceptions and sophistry and control one's mind and actions and should strive to enter the realm of Truth, to be one with God and be an example to other men.

The Guru said,

"In the realm of Truth, He Lives
From where He watches His creation with Grace
Blesses some with happiness."*42

Guru Nanak believed that in this sphere dwells the Eternal equipoise, where his light and Unstruck Music can be experienced in its pure, absolute and perfect form (Turiya Avastha).

The Guru said,

(i) "The .... state of Bliss (Turiya Avastha) is known only through the Guru (Teacher) Who reveals the Lord unto us."*43

(ii) "...... And through the Guru (God) I have attained the highest State (Turiya Avastha) And sought refuge in the companionship of the Saints."*44

Describing Guru Nanak's new Idealism for mankind, Major James Brown (1788 A.D.) wrote that Guru Nanak was a man of a most exemplary life and was eminent for his piety, charity and abstinence.*45 With the teaching of his

*41. Trilochan Singh, 'Guru Nanak's religion; a comparative study of religions', op. cit. p.112
*42. Guru Granth Sahib, Jap Ji. p.8
*43. Ibid., Gauri, p. 154
*44. Ibid., Asa, p.356
*45. James Brown, 'History of the Origin and Progress of the Sicks (Sikhs)' p 8
doctrine he made a great number of proselytes.

Antoine Louis Henri Potier, a Swiss Engineer, read a paper on 'The Siques (Sikhs)' on December 20, 1787 AD at the Asiatic Society of Bengal. He said, inter alia, that the Guru had many followers who embraced his doctrine.

Charles Wilkins (1781) in his 'Observation of the Sikhs and their College at Patna' wrote that Naneek Shah (Guru Nanak), the founder of Seek (Sikh) faith taught that there was one God, Omnipotent and Omnipresent, filling all space and pervading all matter; and that He was to be worshipped and invoked; that there would be a day of retribution when virtue would be rewarded and vice would be punished, that a man should practise universal toleration and should not commit murder, theft and other crimes against Society; and that he should practise all the virtues, particularly universal philanthropy and a general hospitality to strangers and travellers.

George Forster (1798) in his 'Observations of the Sikhs' wrote that Nanock (Guru Nanak) to whose name his follower added the appellation of Shaw (Shah) which was usually bestowed on Faquiers (Saints), appeared to have been well qualified for instituting and establishing a new sect, that Nanock (Guru Nanak) was inflexibly just, rigorously abstinent and that he possessed the most undaunted courage; that Nanock forbade his Seicks (Sikhs) to worship images.

John Griffiths (1798) in his 'Memorandum on the Punjab & Kandhar' wrote that the Seeks (Sikhs) received their tenets from Nanuk (Guru Nanak) who pretended to have received a divine revelation to the following effect:

"Nanak has the same dependence on the Creator, as the tender blade of grass, which receives its nourishment from the dew of heaven."

and that the tenets of Nanuk had been collected into a Book.

*46. Antoine Louis Henri Potier, "The Siques" (Sikhs) The Asiatic Register, 1802, pp.9-12
*47. Charles Wilkins, 'Observation of the Sikhs and their College at Patna', Asiatic Reserches, 1788.
*48. George Forster, 'Observations of the Sikhs.' Home miscellaneous series, Volume 685(3) pp.90-114
William Franklin (1798) in his "History of Reign of Shah Aulum (Alam)" wrote that Nanick (Guru Nanak) framed a system of religion which he delivered to his numerous followers as of divine origin.

Lieutenant Colonel Malcolm (1812) in his 'Sketch of the Sikhs' wrote that Nanac (Guru Nanak) was a man of more than common genius. His great aim was to blend Muslim and Hindu jarring elements in peaceful union. His wish was to recall both Muslims and Hindus to an exclusive attention, sublimest of all principles, which inculcated devotion to God and peace towards man.

Sir Charles Gough and Arthur Innes (1880) in their book 'The Sikhs and The Sikh Wars' wrote that Nanuk (Guru Nanak) was remarkable as a being, not only a really great reformer but one who seems to have inspired singularly little animosity. He founded the brotherhood, who called themselves Sikhs; a sect entirely religious, without any political aim or organisation, based on two fundamental principles: the Unity of God and the Brotherhood of Man, without distinction of race, caste or creed.

W. L. McGregor (1846) in his book 'The History of the Sikhs' wrote that Nanuk's (Guru Nanak) intellect was precocious. His precepts were those of peace with all mankind. He forbade all the abuses and idolatries of the Hindoos (Hindus) and the intolerance of the Musulmans (Muslims).

Joseph D. Cunningham (1849) wrote that the whole scope of Nanak's teachings was that God was all in all and that purity of mind was the first objective and urged all men to practise devotion. He referred to past prophets but he never attributed to himself any superiority over them. He was a man among men, calling upon his fellow creatures to live a holy life.

E. Trumpp (1877) wrote that Guru Nanak built up a concise system on scientific principles. The chief points in Nanak's doctrine were: Unity of Supreme Being, identification of the whole universe and all things therein with the Supreme and representation of human as being a light from the True Light.

*51. J. Malcolm, Sketch of the Sikhs, pp. 22-23
*52. C. Gough and A. Innes, The Sikhs and the Sikh Wars, pp 17-18
*53. W. McGregor, The History of the Sikhs, I, p.33
*54. Ibid., p.33
*55. Ibid., p.35
*56. Ibid., p.35
*60. Ibid., p. xcvi
*57. J. D. Cunningham, History of the Sikhs, p.40 n.1
*58. Ibid., p.40
*61. Ibid., p. xcix
*59. E. Trumpp, Adi Granth, p. xcvi
*62. Ibid., p.cii
C. H. Payne (1930) wrote that Baba Nanak was essentially a reformer. He protested against the idolatry, the blind superstitions, and the empty rituals which had so long estranged religion from morality and the hearts of men from their Creator.

Dorothy Field (1901) wrote that Nanak was a spiritual descendant of monetheistic reformers and broke away very much more from the older faith.

M. Macauliffe (1909) wrote that Guru Nanak's devotion to one God, the True, the Immortal, the Self-Existent, the Pure, the Invisible made him reject incarnations and idols as abominations, while his insistence on right conduct cut away the basis of ritualistic practices and set prayers.

I have produced above a few comments of some of the European writers about the tenets of Guru Nanak, which are essential in the making of an ideal man. All the writers, without exception, agree that Guru Nanak was a messenger of God and that he directed his followers to believe in one God, holy life and universal brotherhood.

Guru Nanak's life as told by Janam Sakhis and accounts of Bhai Gurdas Bhalla and Bhai Mani Singh was a replica of love, simplicity, holiness and brotherhood. The Guru wanted his Sikhs to follow his example. Bhai Mani Singh commenting on the Guru's concept of an Ideal man wrote,

"An ideal man should be humble, should not take pride for anything, should attend religious congregations, should believe in one God, should always remember God in his heart, should listen to His hymns with concentration and love, and should not let any corrupt ideas come in his mind and should develop love for universal friendship."

GURU ANGAD (1504 - 1552) the second Nanak, stressed mental as well as physical development through education, sports and discipline as the important characteristics of an ideal man.

He said,

(i) "Salvation (Mukti) can only be gained by education and knowledge and not by futile acts like piercing ears."

*63. C. H. Payne, A Short History of the Sikhs, p.25
*64. Dorothy Field, The Religion of the Sikhs, p.10
*65. M. Macauliffe, The Sikh Religion, I & II, p.177
*66. Bhai Mani Singh, Bhagat Ratnavali, Pauri 14,
(ii) Hake feet out of fear, hands out of love and eyes out of education; 
Nanak says, in this way, 0 wise woman shall you meet the Bridegroom.  

(iii) 'In the morning during the fourth watch 
they who remember God feel delight, 
They love to run to streams for exercise and bath, and the True 
Name is in their hearts and on their lips.'

(iv) "Devotion, meditation, everything is obtained by following the 
Will of God; all other occupations are in vain."

Guru Angad continued the work of Guru Nanak for about thirteen years. 
His chief trait was his absolute obedience and the same quality he imparted 
to the other followers of the House of Nanak. 

Satta and Balvand, the musicians of the Guru's Court, described the Guru's 
nobility in the following words: 
"Lahina (Guru Angad) obeyed all orders of Guru Nanak without any question."

Professor Puran Singh has described the Guru's obedience and love for 
Guru Nanak in his own poetic style. He wrote, "One day Guru Angad, following 
Guru Nanak, strayed too far out from Khadur towards Kartarpur, whereupon Guru 
Nanak asked him to go no further, but to stay there and wait for his next visit. 
Guru Angad stood looking at the back of the Master as he was slowly going 
towards Kartarpur, turning now and then to look back at Guru Angad. When his 
luminous figure had disappeared, Angad saw it entering in his own soul. He 
felt bewildered with joy and wonder. There he sat on the road-side; lost in 
himself, his eyes fixed on the half-closed eyes of the mystical Guru Nanak 
sealed in his heart, his soul fast asleep in the Master's soul. Days passed 
in that ecstatic trance, dust settled on his hair, and the tendrils of green 
grass caught his toes. So did Guru Angad sit in a trance of Dhyanam (spiritual 
concentration), with nectar tears flowing out of his closed eyes, till Guru 
Nanak returned in haste from Kartarpur to see his mighty lover and his divine 
Beloved seated on the roadside. The Master strained him to his bosom; it 
was God embracing man. From such holy and secret confluence of the two Beloveds, 
the life of spirit flowed in a thousand shining rivers to the soul of the people."

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*68. Guru Granth Sahib, Var Majh, p.139
*69. Ibid., p.146
*70. Ibid., Ramkali. p. 954
*71. Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, op.cit., p.17; From September 1539 to March 1552
*72. Ibid., p.18; See also E. Trumpp, op.cit., p.Lxxvii
*73. Guru Granth Sahib, Var p.967-968
*74. Puran Singh, The Ten Masters, p. 28
To secure the individuality of the members of the house of Guru Nanak, Guru Angad standardised the use of Gurmukhi script, compiled Guru Nanak's biography and strengthened the tradition of free kitchen (Langar).

Apart from his teaching of obedience, Guru Angad commanded his followers to take part in physical fitness exercises and to attend daily drill, athletics and other outdoor games. He asked his Sikhs to lead a life of active householders. He instructed them to take full care of their bodies. If the words of Confucious, that a "journey of a thousand miles is started only with a step" are true, then the seed of the concept of 'Saint Soldier' was indeed laid by Guru Angad, which in the times of Guru Gobind Singh bloomed into the Khalsa.

In the words of Malcolm, Guru Angad taught the same doctrine as Guru Nanak. According to Cunningham, Guru Angad Dev undertook the task of compiling the biography of Guru Nanak, and during all the years of his pontificate he very strongly adhered to the principles of his great teacher, Guru Nanak. Trumpp refers to Guru Angad's blind obedience to the commands of Guru Nanak. Payne mentions Guru Angad as a zealous preacher who committed to writing all that he knew of Guru Nanak. Dorothy Field writes about the Guru's invention of Gurmukhi script which was thenceforth specially employed for all Sikh literature. According to Macauliffe, Guru Angad used to delight in watching the sports and wrestling matches of his Sikhs. On such occasions, he would often take opportunity to instruct the spectators how to overcome anger and other deadly sins. According to Md. Latif, Guru Angad was very strongly attached to Guru Nanak. He spread the religion of his Guru by following studiously in the path which Nanak had laid for his successors. Cole and Sambhi mention that Guru Angad was noted for his practice of meditation; he frequently played with the children of Khadur and watched wrestling matches; qualities of generosity and wisdom were his main characteristics.

*75. G. C. Narang, Glorious History of Sikhism, pp. 27-29; See also I.B. Bannerji op.cit., p.159
*76. Khushwant Singh, A History of the Sikhs, I p.52
*77. Ibid., p.52; see also S. S. Gandhi, History of the Sikh Gurus, p.179
*78. P.S. Gill, History of Sikh Nation, p.91
*79. S.S. Gandhi, History of the Sikh Gurus, p-179
*81. J. Malcolm, Sketch of the Sikhs, p.25
*82. J. Cunningham, op.cit., p.44
*83. E. Trumpp, op.cit., p.Lxxxvii
*84. C. H. Payne, op.cit., p.31
*85. Dorothy Field, op.cit., p.16
*86. M. Macauliffe, The Sikh Religion V, p.15
*87. M. Latif, History of the Punjab, p.250
*88. O. Cole & P.S. Sambhi, The Sikhs, pp.18-19
These are some of the comments on the qualities and teachings of Guru Angad which he wanted to inculcate in the followers of the house of Nanak.

As stated above, Guru Angad taught all the doctrines of Guru Nanak; his special emphasis, however, was on education - to illuminate minds, on sports - to maintain healthy bodies and in obedience - to foster a sense of discipline.

GURU AMARDAS, (1479 - 1574) the third Nanak, put more weight on SEWA, ie, selfless service to mankind, help to the destitute and humility as the core qualities of an ideal man.

He said,

(i) "God becomes Compassionate to us for we serve Him, becoming the slave of His slaves."*89

(ii) "God is the Sea, the ever pure One, The Ideal man picks at the pearls like the swans (on its shores) And day and night, they wash off the dirt of their ego with its waters."*90

(iii) "The Ideal man, through the Guru, enjoys eternally the status of Wedded Life and bears the Lord in his heart (for) he who speaks sweetly and is humble in his ways, enjoys the bed of the spouse."*91

Guru Amardas impressed upon the members of the house of Nanak, the intrinsic value and sanctity of human life.

He said,

(i) "All mankind that you see created is the image of God."*92

(ii) "O man, God infused His light into you and then you appeared in the World."*93

The Guru's simple and devotional life attracted large numbers of followers from far and near,*94 and he organised the scattered followers into parishes.*95

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*89. Guru Granth Sahib, Malhar, p.1257
*90. Ibid., Majh, p.129
*91. Ibid., Siri, p.31
*92. Ibid., Ramkali, Anand Sahib, p.921
*93. Ibid., p.921
*94. Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, op.cit., p.22
*95. R. Majundar, op. cit., p.489
which were called Manjis. With his mature statemanship and clear farsightedness, the Guru saved the infant church of Guru Nanak from a premature death. His contribution amongst other things was the inculcation, amongst his followers, of a sense of responsibility. He said that Simran, Sewa and Humility were extremely essential to build the character of a man. In fact, Simran has also been identified with Sewa at many places in Guru Granth Sahib. In the Sikh Way of life, the term Sewa means both the service of mankind and devotion to God. Seva as understood in Gurbani (Hymns of the Gurus) is the service of mankind without expectation of any reward.

The Guru said,

(i) "By serving the 'True One', one gets solace and peace, and cherishes the nine treasures of Nam in the mind." 

(ii) "The Ideal man is approved in life as in death,
The egocentric is born only to die
But he, Nanak, dies not who is merged in his Nam."

The Sewa of mankind, as recommended by Guru Amardas, helps man to realise the ideal of universal brotherhood, an essential quality of an ideal man as recommended by Guru Nanak. Commenting on Sewa Guru Nanak also said,

"If you earn Sewa in this World
You will get a seat in the Lord's Court."

In Sikhism, for salvation (mukti) the individual follower has to work hard with honesty, while always remaining a member of the society. A recluse has no place in Sikhism. A person has to be an active member of the society, serving wholeheartedly in accomplishing the good and social welfare. Every member of the house of Nanak must work earnestly for the well-being of his fellow-beings.

In the Gurbani are enumerated a number of pre-requisites of Sewa. True service can only be performed if the heart is free of egoism, if the Sewa is free from any expectation of reward, if it is performed willingly and sincerely, if an absolute surrender to the Will of God is made and if

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*96. G. C. Narang, op.cit., p.32  
*97. Guru Granth Sahib, Dhanasri, p.660  
*100. Ibid., Majh, p.115  
*101. Ibid., Var Sorath, p.643  
*102. Darshan Singh, op.cit., p.96  
*103. Guru Granth Sahib, Siri, p.26  
*104. Darshan Singh, op.cit. p.95  
*105. Guru Granth Sahib, Maru  
*106. Ibid., Majh, p.115  
*107. Ibid., Var Suhi, p.787  
*108. Ibid., Dhanasri, p.661
it is performed with an open mind.\footnote{109}

Guru Amardas's twenty-two years of pontificate (1552-74) was an important phase in the strengthening of the Sikh Church.\footnote{110} He was a very popular teacher because his ways were simple and straightforward.\footnote{111}

Satta and Balwand in their Var, in the praise of Guru Amardas, said,

"He made divine knowledge his steed and chastity his saddle,
On the bow of truth he strung the arrow of God's praise.
In the age of utter darkness, he rose like the Sun.
He sowed the seed of truth and reaped its fruit."

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According to Malcolm,\footnote{113} Guru Amardas was distinguished for his activity in preaching the tenets of Guru Nanak, and was very successful in obtaining converts and followers. The Guru was also successful in separating the regular Sikhs from the Udasi sect.

In the words of Cunningham,\footnote{114} Guru Amardas was active in preaching and successful in obtaining converts. The Guru also found an attentive listener of Guru Nanak's Bani and teachings in the tolerant Emperor Akbar. Guru Amardas also saved the infant church of the Sikhs from an early death by wholly separating the passive and reclused 'Udasis' from the regular Sikhs.

Trumpp\footnote{115} refers to Guru Amardas as a humble, patient and pious man; and calls his compositions preserved in the Guru Granth Sahib simple and clear.

According to Payne,\footnote{116} Guru Amardas was a zealous preacher who gained many new followers. He is chiefly remembered for his vigorous crusade against the practice of Sati (Burning widows on their husbands' funeral pyre).

In the words of Dorothy Field,\footnote{117} the third Guru is specially remembered for his intense humility.

Describing Guru's simple living, Macauliffe\footnote{118} says that the Guru had kept only one suit of clothes for himself. Whenever he received a new suit, he gave the old one to a deserving Sikh.

\footnotesize{\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{109} Guru Granth Sahib, Asa, p.468
\item \footnote{110} Ibid., Khushwant Singh, op.cit., p.54
\item \footnote{111} Ibid., p.54.
\item \footnote{112} Guru Granth Sahib, Var, pp.967-968; The Guru composed 907 hymns including Pauris and Sloaks.
\item \footnote{113} J. Malcolm, op.cit., pp.26-27
\item \footnote{114} J. D. Cunningham, op.cit., pp.44-45
\item \footnote{115} E. Trumpp, op.cit., p.Lxxix
\item \footnote{116} C. H. Payne, op.cit., p.31
\item \footnote{117} Dorothy Field, op.cit., p.17
\item \footnote{118} M. Macauliffe, op.cit., II p.58
\end{itemize}}
According to Mohammed Latif, Guru Amardas was a successful teacher and his zeal and activity in preaching, combined with his genial habits and affable disposition, secured for him many converts to the new faith. He was a just and wise Guru, humble and patient. He composed beautiful verses, which have been incorporated in the Guru Granth Sahib and are much liked for their simplicity of diction and purity of idea.

In the words of I.B. Bannerji, Sikhism made considerable headway during Guru Amardas's times. The pontificate of Guru Amardas may be regarded as a turning point in the history of Sikhism. The Guru introduced a number of reforms and changes in the ceremonies connected with marriage and death.

According to Cole and Sambhi, it was a sign of the character of Guru Amardas that he was able to hold the community together and leave behind him a growing and well organised faith.

According to G.S. Mansukhani, Guru Amardas worked for the uplift of women. He discouraged the practice of veiling among women. Moreover, he prohibited the use of alcohol and intoxicants by the Sikhs. Summing up, he writes: "So all in all, the contribution of Guru Amardas to the development of Sikhism has been both significant and permanent."

Guru Ram Das (1534 - 1581) the fourth Nanak, laid more emphasis on simplicity, modesty and submissiveness as the important attributes of an ideal man.

According to the Guru,

(i) "All those who show pride, fall down like a decayed leaf"

(ii) "In ego one is attached by fear and one passes all one's life in fear. Ego is a great malady: involved in it, one is never released from transmigration."

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*119. M. Latif, op.cit., p.250
*120. I. B. Bannerji, op.cit., I, pp. 167, 181, 182
*121. O. Cole and Sambhi, op.cit., p.20
*121A G.S. Mansukhani, Guru Amardas, p.14
*122. Guru Granth Sahib, Var, pp.967-968
*123. Ibid., Var Wadahans, p.592
Guru Ram Das was crowned as the fourth Nanak on the eve of Guru Amardas's death in 1574. Satta and Balwand mentioned this event, thus, in one of their verses:

"You are Nanak, you are Angad and you are Guru Amardas, so do we regard you ..... deeming you as the Transcendental Lord, your followers and congregation bow before you."  

Guru Ram Das continued his work for seven years. He consolidated the Sikhs by giving them a sacred place - Amritsar; a unique organisation - 'Masand system'; and a central treasury.

In keeping with the policy of his predecessors, the Guru continued the work of organising the Sikhs into a self-conscious, coherent community outside Hinduism by initiating a number of social reforms. Like his predecessor, he also forbade the practice of Sati and the custom of Purdah (veiling women's faces). He allowed widows to remarry. He also composed Lavan (the 'Wedding Song') and thus initiated a new type of simple and dignified marriage - known as Anand Karaj.

The Guru clarified the meaning of Nam Yoga and Sahaj Yoga. He said as the teats on a goat's neck yield no milk, so Yoga without piety yields no advantage. His Sikhs were family men and would obtain salvation in that condition of life. The best means of Yoga was the repetition of the Holy Name. Without love and devotion to God, all other means of obtaining salvation were unprofitable.

Guru Ram Das laid down the Sikh way of life and worship. He declared that simplicity, humility and absolute surrender to God were the essential qualities of his Sikhs.

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*124. I. B. Bannerji, op. cit., p.184
*125. Guru Granth Sahib, Var, pp. 967-968
*126. S. S. Gandhi, op. cit., p.212; See also Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, op. cit., p.25; I. B. Bannerji, op. cit., pp.186-187
*127. O. Cole and P. Sambhi, op. cit., p.23
*128. Ibid., p.23
*129. Ibid., p.23
*130. Ibid., p.23; The word 'Anad Karaj' was originally used in Guru Amardas's pontificate though formalised by Guru Ramdas.
*131. M. Macauliffe, op. cit., II, p.259
The Guru said, "He who calls himself a Sikh of the great true Guru rises early and meditates on God's name. He makes efforts early in the morning, takes a bath and has a dip in the tank of nectar. By repeating the Lord's name under the Guru's instruction, all his sins, misdeeds and lapses are wiped off. Afterwards at sunrise, he sings His Word, and whilst sitting or standing, he meditates on God's name. The Guru's disciple, whom with every breath contemplates on my Lord, becomes pleasing to the Guru's heart. The Guru imparts instructions to that disciple of his, to who my Lord is merciful. The slave 'Nanak' seeks the dust of the feet of that Guru's disciple who himself repeats God's Name and makes others do the same.*132

Guru Ram Das, like his predecessors, believed in the sanctity of the family life and holy living, and held that everyone was under a duty to help those who were in need of help. Teja Singh and Ganda Singh have quoted an extract from Macauliffe to illustrate this conviction of the Guru. Guru Ram Das once said to his Sikhs, "When a Sikh has an important business in mind, join him and pray for him. If you see that it cannot be carried on without funds, collect subscriptions for him from every quarter, and at the same time contribute something yourselves."*133

According to G.S. Mansukhani, Guru Ramdas simplified the quest of the devotee for a holy life: "Secular life and religious life have to be lived side by side in harmony, in pursuit of higher values."*133A

The Guru issued some special commandments to his Sikhs. He told them that they all should be ever ready to serve others. All the guests must be served well and looked after well. No one should go empty-handed from a Sikh's house.*134

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*132. Guru Granth Sahib, Var Gauri, p.305
*133. Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, op.cit., pp.25-26; see also M. Macauliffe, op.cit., II, p.275
*133A G. S. Mansukhani, Guru Ramdas, p.118
*134. Sahib Singh, Gur-Ithihas from 2nd to 9th Guru, p.58
Commenting on the Sikhs and their idealism, the Guru said,

(i) "The Ideal man knows God's way, for them
There is no obstacle in the way to His Door
They praise the Lord's Name, believe in it
and are attached to it eternally." *135

(ii) "The Ideal man realises the One alone, through the Guru
And meets with Him in his Self and hears the unstruck melody of the Word
God has created the whole creation, but it is the ideal Men who are
blessed with glory." *136

According to Malcolm *137, Guru Ram Das became famous for his piety and
organisational skill. Cunningham *138 observes that Guru Ram Das is among the
most revered of the Gurus and was also held in esteem by Akbar. Trumpp *139 says
that the construction of the nectar tank (Amritsar) helped tremendously in the
strengthening of the organisation of the Sikhs, for they obtained thereby a fixed
central place of worship, where the Sikhs annually assembled and performed their
ablutions. He also mentions the great many hymns *140 composed by the Guru.
Payne *141 also mentions the Guru's piety and his good relations with Akbar.
Dorothy Field *142 refers to the Guru's task of completing the excavation of the
deady tank at Amritsar and organising the system of Masands. Macauliffe mentions
the Guru's administration through Masands, *143 interpretation of Sahaj Yoga
and zeal for missionary work. *144

Sved Mohd. Latif *146 noted that the Guru was a man of considerable merit.
He possessed a quiet and peaceful disposition. He lived with piety, devotion,
elegance and energy and kept busy in literary pursuits. According to I.B.
Bennerji *147, Guru Ram Das earnestly took up the missionary work and sent
preachers to different parts of the country to spread the new faith.

*135. Guru Granth Sahib, Siri, p.42
*136. Ibid., Sloak Varan Te Wadeek, p.1422
*137. J. Malcolm, op.cit., p.29
*138. J. D. Cunningham, op.cit., p.45
*139. E. Trumpp, op.cit., p.1xxx
*140. The Guru composed 679 hymns including paurs and sloaks – See S. S. Kohli,
A Critical Study of the Guru Granth, p.6
*141. C. H. Payne, op.cit., p.31
*142. Dorothy Field, op.cit., p.17
*143. M. Macauliffe, II, p.49
*144. Ibid., p.64
*145. Ibid., p.68
*146. M. Latif, op.cit., p.254
*147. I. B. Bannerji, op.cit., p.187
Bhai Gurdas said,

(i) "The Sodhi King Ramdas sat on the throne, and was called the True Guru. He dug a perfect tank, and awakened the light of divine knowledge in Amritsar."*148

Thus, apart from teachings, Nam and Devotion, the Guru laid greter emphasis on humility, modesty and love of the lowly as the qualities of an ideal man.

The Guru said,

(i) "The Lord honours His poor and lowly worshipper."*149

(ii) "Always look up to the Highest, living among your kith and kin, Like the lotus that stands above its roots which are in mud."*150

GURU ARJAN, (1563 - 1606) the fifth Nanak, laid greater stress on Nam-Simran and the company of saints as the indispensable features of an ideal man.

The Guru said,

(i) "By Simran you shed your fear, By Simran your worries go, Meditate on the Lord in the company of saints If you meditate on the Lord with Love You are the master of all the treasures."*151

(ii) "He whose mind and tongue are filled with truth, He who does not see any one but the Lord, Such, Nanak be the qualities of an ideal man."*152

Guru Arjan organised the faith of Nanak on a sound basis and established a centre of worship and religious assembly. The Guru gave to the Sikh community, Harmandir (The House of God), later called the Golden temple, and Holy Granth (The Book of God's Revelations), later called Guru Granth Sahib.

Guru Arjan was a great composer. Out of a total of 5894 hymns included in Guru Granth Sahib, 2218 hymns (including pauris and sloaks) were composed

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*148. Bhai Gurdas I, Var 1, Pauri 47
*149. Guru Granth Sabib, Siri. p. 42
*150. Ibid., Maru, p. 998
*151. Ibid., Gauri Sukhmani, p.262
*152. Ibid., p.262;
by Guru Arjan. He was a writer of intellectual vigour, classical restraint, serenity of feeling and practical outlook on life.\footnote{153}

The Guru's pontificate lasted for 25 years (1581 - 1606). Under his guidance the number of Sikhs increased dramatically. There was hardly any city in the Punjab or outside where some Sikhs were not to be found.\footnote{154}

Guru Arjan compiled the hymns of the preceding Gurus and a few eminent saints and sufis in Guru Granth Sahib to provide a guide-book and a manual to impart theoretical and practical spiritual instructions for the guidance of the ideal man. He also built Harmandir to provide a place of worship of the Supreme, and training ground for the ideal man.

In this connection the Guru said,

(i) "Ever and ever, remembering, remember Thy Love In whose rememberance you shall attain bliss."\footnote{155}

(ii) "He that remembers the Lord, goes not to the cave of rebirth.\footnote{156}

(iii) "By remembering the Lord we obtain wealth, mystical powers, and the nine treasures."\footnote{157}

(iv) "To remember the Lord is the highest religious duty."\footnote{158}

(v) "Among all men that man is foremost who in the company of saints destroys his self-attachment.\footnote{159}

(vi) "Of all religions the best religion is: To utter the Holy Name with adoration, and to do good deeds."\footnote{160}

(vii) "In the company of saints The mind wanders not wildly, In the company of saints The soul attains happiness; In the company of saints Man glimpses the Invisible."\footnote{161}

\footnote{153. Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, op.cit., p.30}
\footnote{154. Ibid., p.27}
\footnote{155. Guru Granth Sahib, Gauri Sukhmani, p.262}
\footnote{156. Ibid., p.262}
\footnote{157. Ibid. p.272}
\footnote{158. Ibid., p.272}
\footnote{159. Ibid., p.162}
\footnote{160. Ibid., p.262}
\footnote{161. Ibid., p.262}
According to Malcolm, Guru Arjan gave consistent form and order to the religion of the Sikhs. Cunningham observes that during the ministry of Guru Arjan, the principles of Guru Nanak took a firm hold on the minds of his followers. Trumpp mentions that Guru Arjan had a great talent for organization and the Sikh Community increased considerably and spread fast over Punjab under his versatile administration. According to Payne, Guru Arjan is revered not only as the compiler of the Guru Granth, but also as the first Guru to assume the temporal as well as the spiritual control of his followers. The Guru also framed laws to regulate their social and political life and established his head-quarters at Amritsar for administrative control. Dorothy says that Guru Arjan was a very notable figure. He possessed a remarkably handsome appearance and was a fine poet as well as a man of great practical ability. According to Macauliffe, the Guru was a symbol of piety, devotion and Nam-Simran. When Bibi Ganga, his wife, was not welcomed by Baba Buddha, to whom she had gone to beg for a boon of a son, the Guru consoled her by saying: 'The saints and the true Guru are not pleased with display. If you desire anything from them, never appear in the character of a superior. Come, I will teach you how to succeed. With devotion of your heart grind corn, knead the flour, and bake the bread with your own hands ... dress yourself as a peasant woman, and go on foot and alone, so shall you obtain the saint's blessing.'

Mohd. Latif observed that Guru Arjan was an energetic and aspiring Guru, and his aims were high. He organised the Sikhs into a community, and devised measures for extending his spiritual authority.

GURU HARGOBIND, (1595 - 1644) the sixth Nanak, emphasised participation in congregational prayer and acceptance of Hukam (God's will) and proficiency in martial arts as the main characteristics of an ideal man. According to Mohsin Fani, a contemporary of Guru Hargobind and Guru Har Rai, when a Sikh wished for God's favour or gift, he would come to an / (Please turn to next page)
assembly of the Sikhs and would request them to pray for him. Even the Guru himself asked the Sikh congregation to pray for him. *169

Guru Hargobind was very meticulously and wisely trained for the pontificate, which, under the changed circumstances, was not only a place of honour but of great danger as well. *170 The Guru received all his training, martial and spiritual, from Bhai Buddha, who taught the Guru the sacred hymns and the use of weapons for the defence of dharma (righteousness). *171

While assuming the duties of the spiritual head of the House of Nanak, Guru Hargobind wore two swords, depicting both his temporal and spiritual authority. However, he never allowed the temporal aspect to supersede or overcome the spiritual aspect. Everyday the morning religious service was held, as usual, by singing hymns from Guru Granth Sahib. The Guru encouraged congregational prayers and on many occasions himself led such mass meditation. *172

From 1612 to 1627, the Guru streamlined his hold on his followers. He travelled to the North up to Kashmir and to the east up to Pilibhit. All along the route of his travels, he had Gurdwaras built. He also appointed missionaries who could initiate the converts into the pacifist faith of Guru Nanak and his martial mission. *174

In 1634 the Guru met Samrath Ram Das, a saint from Maharashtra, at Srinagar (Garhwal). *175 The saint was surprised to see all the pomp and show of the Guru, his wearing of two swords, *176 his personal army of 552 soldiers and stable of 800 horses. *178 He asked the Guru, "I hear that you are the successor of Guru Nanak. Guru Nanak had renounced the world, while you wear the swords, keep horses and an army, and people call you 'The True King.' What kind of a Sadhu are you?" Guru Hargobind replied:

"Saintliness within, worldliness without; Arms are for poor man's protection and enemy's destruction;

*169. Mohsin Fani, Dabistan-i-Mazahib, Translation by D. Shea and Antony Troyer, p.239
*170. Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, op.cit., p.39
*171. Ibid., p.39
*172. Ibid., p.39
*173. Khushwant Singh, op.cit., p.65
*174. Ibid., p.65
*175. S.S. Gandhi, op.cit., p.318
*176. Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, op.cit., p.39
*177. Ibid., p.39
*178. Mohsin Fani, op.cit., p.277, II
Nanak gave up not the world,
He gave up worldliness.  

On his return from Garhwal, the Guru had another encounter with Shah Daula at Gujarat. Shah Daula asked the Guru, 'How can a Hindu be a fakir? How can you be a religious man, when you have a wife and children, and possess worldly wealth?' The Guru replied;

'A wife is her man's conscience,
His children continue his memory
and wealth gives him his sustenance.
As for a fakir, he is neither a Hindu nor a Mussalman.'

According to Teja Singh & Ganda Singh, after Guru Nanak, Guru Hargobind was the first Guru who went outside the Punjab to spread his religion.

Commenting on Guru Hargobind's innovation of temporal authority, Bhai Gurdas said,

"People say the former Gurus used to sit in the temple;
The present Guru remains not in any one place.
The former Emperors used to visit the former Gurus;
The present Guru was sent into the fortress by the Emperor.
In former times the Guru's Darbar could not contain the sect;
The present Guru leads a roving life and fears no body.
The former Gurus, sitting on their thrones, used to console the Sikhs,
The present Guru keeps dogs and hunts.
The former Gurus used to compose hymns, listen to them and sing them;
The present Guru composes no hymns, nor listens to them, nor sings them;
He keeps not his Sikh followers with him, but has taken enemies of his faith and wicked person as his guides and acquaintances;

*179. Satbir Singh, Guru Hargobind, p.64
*180. Teja Singh and Ganda Sing, op.cit., pp.41-42
*181. Ibid., pp.41-42
I say, the truth within him cannot possibly be concealed; the true sikhs, like the bumble bees, are enamoured of his lotus feet.

He supports a burden unbearable for others and asserts not himself.\footnote{182}

Guru Hargobind's emphasis on the use of force to protect the innocent and the righteousness proved very popular amongst the Punjabis, resulting in a tremendous increase in the number of converts to Sikhism.\footnote{183} Mohsin Fani,\footnote{184} describing the Guru's years in Kiratpur says: "From this time the disciples of the Guru increased considerably, and in this mountainous country, as far as the frontiers of Tibet and Kheta, the name of the Mussalman was not heard of."

Apart from Guru Hargobind's emphasis on congregational prayer, he also introduced the custom of "choirs, called chowkies, moving nightly around the Golden Temple and, with the blaze of trumpets and flare of torches, singing hymns in stirring tunes\footnote{185}"

According to Cunningham,\footnote{186} although the Guru led a very hectic life, he never forgot his divine character and always styled himself 'Nanak' in deference to the firm belief of the Sikhs that the soul of their great teacher animated each of his successors. Trumpp's and Payne's\footnote{187} account of the Guru's conflicts with the Sikh tradition and history is based on unreliable evidence. Dorothy Field,\footnote{188} however, mentions that Guru Hargobind obeyed the injunctions of his father to sit fully armed on his throne, and maintain an army; and that he found his followers well prepared for the new role which they had to assume. According to Macauliffe,\footnote{189A} in an answer to Baba Buddha's question, the Guru had said that his endeavour should be to fulfil his (Baba Buddha's) prophecy; that in the Guru's house religion and worldly enjoyments should be combined; and that it was in fulfilment of Baba Buddha's own prophecy that the Guru was wearing two swords signifying temporal and spiritual powers.

\footnote{182}{Bhai Gurdas Bhalla, Var 26, pauri 24}
\footnote{183}{Khushwant Singh, op.cit., p.66}
\footnote{184}{Mohsin Fani, op.cit., II p.276}
\footnote{185}{Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, op.cit., p.40}
\footnote{186}{J. D. Cunningham, op.cit., p.54}
\footnote{187}{E. Trumpp, op.cit., pp. Lxxxii-Lxxxiv}
\footnote{188}{C. H. Payne, op.cit., p.32}
\footnote{189A}{M. Macauliffe, op.cit., IV pp.4-5}
Mohd. Latif mentions that the Guru's pontificate of thirty-eight and a half years was full of historic events. The Guru was a national hero and was held in great respect and admiration in the hearts of everyone.

Jadu Nath Sarkar's account of the Guru's life and teaching seems to be based on Malcolm, Trumpp and Payne, and thus he too has misunderstood the higher lessons which the young Guru gave to mankind, in general, and his followers, in particular.

According to Induhsan Banerjee, the sixth Guru was a great master-mind. He was a spiritual and temporal leader. His planning and decision-making policy were superb. His cool imperturbability served him admirably throughout his life; but his greatest assets appear to have been his lovable personality and his never-failing sense of humour, which made him the best of masters and the best of friends.

Anil Chandra Bannerjee states that the Guru's military confrontation with the Mughal Government was not necessarily an integral part of his decision to have a sword-belt as his seli and to wear his turban with a royal aigrette. He forged a weapon, indeed, but probably he did not mean to use it immediately or in normal circumstances.

GURU HAR RAI, (1630 - 1661) the seventh Nanak, stressed self-discipline and love of man, nature and God as the basic qualities of the ideal man.

The Guru's pontificate lasted for seventeen years, from 1644 to 1661. He was only fourteen years old when he was selected by his grandfather, Guru Hargobind, to lead the Sikh nation. For thirteen out of the total seventeen years, the Guru had his headquarters at Taksal near Kasauli in Sirmoor state. He undertook frequent visits to Amritsar, Goindwal, Kartarpur, Khadur and Kiratpur to further the work left by the first six Nanaks.

*189B M. Larif, op. cit., p 257
*190 J. N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, III, pp 350 - 351
*191 I. B. Bannerji, op. cit., p 45
*192 A. C. Bannerji, Guru Nanak to Guru Gobind Singh, p 147
*193 Mohsin Fani, op. cit., II 282 - has mentioned 1645 as the year of the coronation of the Guru.
*194 J. D. Cunningham, op. cit., p 55
*195 Khushwant Singh, op. cit., p 67
*196 Ibid., p 68
His intense love for man can be better understood by his own words:
"You can repair or rebuild a temple or a mosque, but not a broken heart."*197

His respect and compassion for objects of nature can be known from his personal reactions:
"One day during his childhood, as he was passing through a garden, his loose coat broke the stems of some flowers which fell to the ground. The sight was too much for him and brought tears to his eyes."*198

And -
"He was a mighty hunter, yet he was too kind-hearted to kill the animals he had chased or captured. He would bring them home, and feed them and protect them in a zoo."*199

The Guru was a man of great generosity and wisdom. He always urged his followers to meditate on the hymns of Guru Granth Sahib and to lead a life of self-discipline.*200 His pontificate was a milestone in the spreading of the mission of Guru Nanak. Some very important and powerful families were converted to Sikhism during his time.*201

The Guru has been revered by a number of popular titles such as 'King of the Righteous,'*202 'Well-bred Saint,'*203 'World-Protector,'*204 'The Great Guru,'*205 etc. inscribed on the epitaph of Ram Rai's monument at Dehra Dun.

The Guru's wisdom is shown by the following words which he uttered when he declared Ram Rai, his elder son, unfit for Guruship, on account of his showing occult power *206 and misquoting one of Guru Nanak's hymns in the Court of Aurangzeb.*207 The Guru said: *208

*197. Ibid., p.69
*198. Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, op.cit., p.47
*199. Khushwant Singh, op. cit., p.69
*200. G. S. Mansukhani, op.cit., p.101
*201. Khushwant Singh, op.cit., p.68; The ancestors of the families of Bhais of Kaithal and Bagrian whose descendents played a distinguished role in the building of Sikh faith are said to have received blessing from the Guru. See also G. C. Narang, op. cit., p.88
*202. Ram Rai's monument at Dehra Dun, verse 21
*203. Ibid., verse 33
*204. Ibid., verse 38
*205. Ibid., verse 56
*207. Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, op.cit., p.48
*208. M. Macauliffe, op.cit., IV p.31
"The Guruship is like a tiger's milk, which can only be contained in a golden cup. Only he who is ready to devote his life thereto is worthy of it."

The seventeen years of the Guru's pontificate were full of significant events. The most important thing, apart from his inculcation of the ideas of self restraint, love of man, love of nature and love of God, was his organisation of the Sikh Church.

According to Malcolm, 

*212
Guru Har Rai's pontificate was relatively peaceful; Cunningham also mentions that the Guru's ministry was mild and peaceful and many converts of higher status owed their origin to the tranquil pontificate of the Guru. Trumpp states that the Guru was wise and sensible and possessed a peaceful disposition. Dorothy Field refers to the fact that during Guru Har Rai's ministry, Guru Nanak's teachings were faithfully adhered to and the followers remained a strong religious body.

Macauliffe mentions that the Guru was a great preacher of love and discipline. His sermons were a very important factor in the spreading of Sikhism. The following quotations from Guru Granth Sahib were frequently used by the Guru;

(i) "Man with one hand breaks flowers and with the other he offers them, but the flower perfumes both hands alike. Although the axe cuts the Sandal-tree, yet the Sandal perfumes the axe. Therefore my Sikhs always return good for evil."*217

*212. J. Malcolm, op. cit., p.37
*213. J. D. Cunningham, op. cit., p.55
*214. E. Trumpp, op. cit., p.Lxxxv
*215. Dorothy Field, op. cit., p.20
*216. M. Macauliffe, op. cit., IV, pp.279-314
*217. Ibid., p.279
(ii) "He whose deeds are pure is called a holy man."*218

(iii) "Though one be very beautiful, of high birth, clever, pleasing in words and wealthy, yet shall he be deemed as dead, if he has no love for God."*219

(iv) "All men's hearts are jewels, to distress them is not at all good; If you desire the Beloved, distress no one's heart."*220

(v) "Do now the work of tomorrow; and if you do it now, do it at once. Nothing can be done hereafter, when death stands over your head."*221

Mohd. Latif*222 observes that the Guru was a quiet and contented man, and was very affable in his habits. Mohsin Fani*224 felt that the Guru's personality was shaped by the Guru's dignity.

Thus we see that the Sikh and non-Sikh chroniclers of Sikh history are unanimous that Guru Har Rai was a man of love and peace and that his personality became perfect through the development of his love for God and His creation, and his self-restraint.

GURU HAR KRISHAN, (1656 - 1664) the eighth Nanak, stressed the help of the needy as the core quality of an ideal man.

The eternal light of Guru Nanak, which had manifested itself in a dedicated disciple, Guru Angad; in an elderly yet tireless preacher, Guru Amardas; in an administrator, Guru Ramdas; in a martyr, Guru Arjan; in a warrior, Guru Har Gobind; in a pacifist, Guru Har Rai; now manifested itself in a child-scholar, Guru Har Krishan, who proved beyond any doubt that an ideal man could be a successful leader even at the young age of five and meet fearlessly any challenge of times.

The pontificate of the Guru lasted only two and a half years, from 6th October, 1661 to 30th March, 1664,*225 but within this short span of time, the

*218. Ibid., p.281
*219. Ibid., p.283
*220. Ibid., p.287
*221. Ibid., p.314
*222. M. Latif, op.cit., p.257
*223. M. Latif, op.cit., p.259
*224. Mohsin Fani, op.cit., II, p.282
*225. Sahib Singh, op.cit., pp. 54-55
Guru contributed to the mission of Guru Nanak the 'spirit of help and assistance.' The Guru declared that the followers of Guru Nanak must always be ready to help others irrespective of the recipient's colour, caste, creed and religion.

While staying in Delhi, in 1664, the Guru helped and nursed the smallpox stricken people of the Capital, without any fear of contacting infection and brought new life, hope and happiness to many hundred families at the cost of his own young and tender life.

As a child - Guru, he baffled the Pandits by his divine knowledge and spiritual powers. The Guru also disregarded, without any fear, the occult powers of his elder brother, Ram Rai.

Child-Guru Har'Krishan carried forward the work where it was left by Guru Har Rai. He sent out missionaries far and wide to spread the gospel of Guru Nanak. He himself taught, with all confidence, those who asked from him the path of truth. The Guru, with his missionary work, proved that spiritual attainment does not depend on age. It was a gift of God and could be bestowed on anyone.

Aurangzeb, though close to Ram Rai, was convinced that the choice of Guru Harkrishan as a successor to Guru Nanak's throne was not wrong and that Ram Rai's claim was spurious.

The various sermons of the Guru, inter alia, included the following:

When the Guru received the summons from Aurangzeb he consoled his followers by saying,

(i) "What cause is there for anxiety? Whatever Wahe-guru has decided shall take place. Why be anxious regarding it? What can poor mortal do if he has not God's succour?"

(ii) When the Guru instructed an ego-stricken Brahman at Panjokhara, he said:

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*226. Trilochan Singh, Historical Sikh Shrines in Delhi, p.15
*227. Ibid., p.15
*228. S. S. Gandhi, The Spokesman Weekly, July 24 1978, p.4
*229. Ibid., p.4
*231. Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, op.cit., p.50
*232. M. Macauliffe, op.cit., IV, p. 319
"The eyes of understanding are very good, but the cataract of pride so blinds them that they cannot see God's way."*233

(iii) On an emissary's insistence the Guru sent to the Emperor the following instructions based on Guru Nanak's hymns:
"If the True God dwells not in the heart
Every other thought and act is useless.

......
Except the true Name all other things are perishable."*234

(iv) When the Guru was to breathe his last he consoled his mother, Krishan Kaur, by quoting the various hymns of Guru Arjan. He said,
"The Master may gather the crop whether it be green, half-ripe, or ripe and fit to be cut;
The reapers make preparations, bring sickles, and arrive on the ground;
They cut the crop as it is measured out to them when the owner gives orders."*235

Guru Har Krishan with his sense of service and nursing of the sick inculcated the idea of selfless help as an essential attribute of an ideal man.

As the Guru died at a very young age and remained on the throne of Guru Nanak for only two and a half years, the non-Sikh historians have commented very little on his life. Cunningham*236 has mentioned Aurangzeb's acceptance of the Guru as the rightful successor, Dorothy Field*237 mentions the Guru's refusal to see the tyrant Aurangzeb in response to the later's summons. Mohd. Latif*238 refers to the Guru as 'infant apostle.'

*233. Macauliffe, op. cit. p. 321
*234. Ibid., p.324
*235. Ibid., p.326
*236. J. D. Cunningham, op.cit., p.56
*237. Dorothy Field, op.cit., p.21
*238. M. Latif, op.cit., p.258
GURU TEGH BAHADUR (1621 - 1675), the ninth Nanak, emphasised the Sikh view of Jiwan Mukat (liberated soul) and Sacrifice for others as the basic attributes of an ideal man.

Guru Tegh Bahadur's pontificate lasted for eleven years and eight months, from March 30, 1664 to November 11, 1675. During this period of Guruship, the work done by him to further the ideology and philosophy of Guru Nanak and his seven successors was commendable.

The Guru's sacrifice of life for the protection of the faith and religion of others added a new dimension to the philanthropy of the Sikhs. In the words of Santokh Singh:

"Who like him there ever was in the world,
Who sacrificed his head,
For the sake of others' faith."*240

The Guru gave his life for the sake of the faith of the Hindus, without uttering a groan. His sacrifice was a mighty challenge to the mightiest empire of the age, and this challenge was given in the metropolis and to the emperor in person.*242

The Guru's contribution towards the attributes of an ideal man are very significant. He showed the importance of service and help to others even at the cost of one's life, through his hymns, sermons and action - by laying down his own life to protect the Hindu faith. Commenting on the requisites of an ideal man, the Guru wrote:

(i) "Rid yourself of ego, and love of Maya,
Attune yourself to the All-pervading God,
This is the way of deliverance;
Become an ideal man and attain deliverance."*243

(ii) "In this world only that person is liberated
who devotes himself to the adoration of the Lord."*244

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*239 Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, op cit, pp 51, 58
*240 Santokh Singh, Sri Gur Pratap Suraj Granth, VII, pp. 2762 - 63
*241 Sri Ram Kohli, 'Guru Tegh Bahadur', Guru Tegh Bahadur Commemorative Volume, p3
*242 Ibid. p.33
*243 Guru Granth Sahib, Gaur, p. 219
*244 Ibid., Sarang, p.1231
"Call him a Yogi who has no slander for others or flattery,
For whom gold and iron are one, who is untouched by joy and
sorrow." *245

The Guru described the attributes of Jiwan Mukat in one of his hymns.

He wrote:

"The man who in the midst of grief is free from grieving
And free from fear and free from the sense of delight,
Nor is covetous of gold that he knows to be dust,
Who is neither a back-biter nor a flatterer,
Nor has greed in his heart, nor vanity, nor any worldly attachment,
Who remains in equipoise, unmoved by good or ill-fortune,
Who is indifferent to the world's praise and blame,
And discards every wishful fantasy, accepting his lot in a disinterested

fashion,

Not worked upon by lust or by wrath;
In such a man God dwells.
The man on whom the grace of the Guru alights,
understands the way of right conduct.
His soul is mingled with the Lord
As water mingle with water." *246

Guru Tegh Bahadur was the youngest son of Guru Hargobind. From his
childhood, he was a serious boy and looked like a saint in the making. *247 He
was always polite and calm and loved all his playmates and class fellows. *248
The Guru studied languages, history, metaphysics, logic, theology, Indian
philosophy, elementary Islamic lore, Qoranic traditions and Sufi doctrines. *249
The Guru was also given a comprehensive military training and he learnt the use
of all weapons of war current in the times. *250 The Guru also took a

*245. Guru Granth Sahib, ibid, p. 685
*246. Ibid., Sorath, p.633; According to G. S. Mansukhani, 'Hymns of Guru Tegh
Bahadur,' Commemorative Volume p.10 this was the Guru's first hymn and
was composed in 1664 when the Guru was 41 years old. The year was the
first of the Guru's pontificate.
*247. Prakash Singh, 'Birthday, Early life and marriage of Guru Tegh Bahadur,'
*248. Ibid., p.8
*249. Trilochan Singh, Guru Tegh Bahadur, Prophet & Martyr, p.19
*250. Ibid.
special interest in music and poetry.*251 In April, 1635, when the Guru was fourteen years old, he took part in one of the battles which Guru Hargobind fought against the Mughal forces.*252 From 1644 to 1664 the Guru lived in Bakala with his wife Gujari and mother Nanaki.*253 All these years he was mostly absorbed in meditation of the Name.*254

His twenty years of meditation gave him the secret of the reality of life. He, then, expressed some of his ideas in his Sloaks. He wrote:

(i) "If strength is our support, all bonds are rent as under and all efforts prove of avail."*255

(ii) "Whom pleasure, pain, covetousness, attachment and pride affect not; listen 0 mind, he is Image of God."*256

(iii) "He who is unaffected by praise or blame or honour or ignominy, for whom gold and iron are alike; listen 0 mind, he is Jiwan Mukat"*257

(iv) "He who is not moved by joy or sorrow, and to whom friend and foe are alike; listen 0 mind, he is Jiwan Mukat.*258

After resuming the responsibility of the Guruship the Guru planned to visit Amritsar in November, 1664; there the doors of the Harmandir were slammed in his face by the masands.*259 On May 13, 1665, he reached Kiratpur after passing through village Walla, Khadur, Goindwal, Taran Taran, Khem Karan, Bangar and Dhamdan.*260

On June 19, 1665, the Guru reached Chak Nanaki. From 1665 to 1670 he was away from the Punjab, visiting various places enroute to Assam.*261 From 1673 to 1675 the Guru made another tour of Malwa and Bangar.*262

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*251. Ibid., p.20
*253. Taran Singh, 'Tegh Bahadur's 20 years of mediation at Bakala before becoming Guru,' The Sikh Review, December 1975, p.19
*254. Ibid., p.19
*255. Guru Granth Sahib, Sloak 53, p.1429
*256. Ibid., Sloak 13, p.1426-1427
*257. Ibid., Sloak 14, p.1427
*258. Ibid., Sloak 15, p.1427
*259. Khushwant Singh, op.cit., I, p.71
*260. S. S. Gandhi, op.cit., p.353
*261. Ibid., pp. 353-361
*262. Ibid., p.365
During this period of time, when the Guru was spreading the mission of Guru Nanak far and near, Aurangzeb was giving finishing touches to his policy for the spread of Islam and conversion of Hindus to Islam by force.

On May 25, 1665 a deputation of sixteen Brahmins, under the leadership of Kirpa Ram Dutt, called on the Guru to help them to save the Hindu faith. The Guru gave them a sympathetic response.

Aurangzeb, whose 'intelligence service' had already reported to him about the Guru's extensive tours to preach the gospel of Guru Nanak, was already suspicious of the Sikh movement which his grandfather, Jahangir, had wished to put an end to.

The fresh reports about the Kashmiri Brahmins' approach to the Guru for help and the sympathetic response of the Guru to the Brahmins' cause and his promise to sacrifice even his own life to help this just cause added fuel to the fire. As a result, Aurangzeb wrote to the governor of Lahore, in 1675, to arrest the Guru. The Guru was arrested on July 12, 1675, and was brought to Delhi on November 6, 1675.

On November 11, 1675 the Guru was publically executed at Chandni Chowk.

Thus, the Guru, with his immortal hymns and unparalleled sacrifice, taught his followers the spirit of Jiwan Mukat i.e., liberation (Mukti) while still in embodied existence and self-oblation.

According to Malcolm, the Guru was put to death by Aurangzeb, without even the allegation of a crime. Cunningham wrote that the Guru's own example powerfully aided in making the disciples of Guru Nanak a martial as well as a devotional people: Payne mentions that the Guru was executed for refusing to embrace the faith of Islam. Dorothy Field states that the execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur left Aurangzeb in great distress and that he never regained his peace of mind. According to I. B. Bannerjee the Guru

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*263. Ganda Singh, 'Brahmins in search of a Saviour,' The Sikh Review, December 1975, p.65
*264. Ibid., p.68
*265. Ibid., p.69
*266. Ibid., p.69; see also Darshan Singh, 'Idea of Jiwan Mukat in Sikhism,' The Spokesman Weekly, August 14, 1978
*267. J. Malcolm, op.cit., p.39
*268. J. D. Cunningham, op.cit., p.58
*269. C. H. Payne, op.cit., p.32
*270. Dorothy Field, op.cit., p.24
was of a peaceful disposition. His spirit of forbearance and his love of peace are clearly brought out in the manner in which he sought to meet the intrigues of his kinsmen and those of the masands; and his writings unmistakably testify to the saintliness of his character. Mohd. Latif\(^2\) states that the Guru told his disciples that he was 'Deg Bahadur' meaning he was a cherisher of the poor and supporter of the hungry, rather than 'Tegh Bahadur' meaning the cherisher of the sword.

Thus we see that the supreme sacrifice of Guru Tegh Bahadur is the first known sacrifice in medieval Indian history for the protection of fundamental human rights, which are the foremost and important parts of most of the world constitutions, and include the right of freedom of religion and worship.

The Guru's sacrifice was a practical demonstration of the Sikh ideal.

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\(^{2}\) M. Latif, op.cit., p.259